

Despite their long list of contributions in the Senate, perhaps their greatest contributions to this nation are still to come. Senator BUMPERS has talked about going back to Arkansas to teach and Senator GLENN has said once he gets back down to earth, he'll work to steer young people toward public service. I can't think of a greater honor than to say I've served alongside these two men and shared their vision of a better America.

I also want to thank my two retiring colleagues on the other side of the aisle. We may not have always agreed on which road to take, but I believe we always shared a deep commitment to our country and its betterment. Whether you agree or not with Senator COATS' position on the issues, everyone in this chamber will agree he's willing to roll up his sleeves and do the hard work necessary to accomplish his goals. He's brought the same tenacity to the Senate that found him at three percent in the polls when he began his first congressional bid and had him winning by 58 percent on election day. He got that win the old-fashioned way, organizing block by block and pressing his case one-on-one.

Senator KEMPTHORNE has only been a part of this institution for just one term, but he has already proven that he can work with his colleagues to pass laws, like the unfunded mandates bill, in a place where it's often easier to move mountains than a piece of legislation. The Safe Drinking Water Act of 1996 was a perfect example of his ability to bring together scientists, activists on both sides of the issue, and public health experts to craft legislation that each one had a stake in seeing succeed. So while he may have spent just a short while in these Halls, he demonstrated that it is only through compromise that we can achieve solutions in the best interest of the nation.

So Mr. President, let me tell my fellow retirees what a privilege it has been to serve with you over the years and how grateful I am for your commitment to public service and the American people.

FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I want to make a few brief remarks, share a few thoughts, and express my heart felt thanks to a number of individuals who have made my life in the Senate a little bit easier and a little bit more enjoyable than it otherwise would have been.

I have been privileged to serve in this body since December 28, 1974. As I look back, it is amazing how much progress we have made as a country during that period. The average life expectancy in this country has increased by 4 years. The average per capita income after adjusting for inflation, has risen 40 percent during this time period. The portion of adults with at least a high school diploma has risen from about two-thirds of adults to more than four-

fifths. The percentage of adults with at least a bachelor's degree has risen from 14 percent to 25 percent.

So we are living longer and healthier lives, we are wealthier, and we are better educated.

And the quality of life has improved in many other ways as well. We have an almost unlimited ability to communicate. The developments with computers in recent years have been almost breathtaking. Children understand computers at an early age—often before they even start school. The percentage of homes with computers keeps rising. We have cell phones and laptops and cable TV and satellite dishes and fax machines. Our access to information is better and faster than ever.

We have opportunities to travel more, live in bigger homes, and eat more nutritious meals. We spend more on entertainment than ever.

But Mr. President, our challenges are probably greater than ever.

I entered the Senate at the beginning of a period of deep cynicism and distrust of government, having just come through the Vietnam war and Watergate. We have always had a very healthy distrust of government in this country, but 1974 was an especially troublesome time. And I have witnessed a fascinating national debate on the role of government during the period since. The cynicism from Watergate evolved into a crisis of confidence in our country, and a growing feeling by some through the 1980's that government was the major source of many problems in our society, not the solution.

But the debate of the role of government has continued to evolve. I think we are at the point today where there is a fairly broad consensus among Americans about certain aspects of government.

There is a consensus about certain things that Americans want from their government—a strong defense, the best educational system in the world, managing the economy in an efficient way, including balanced budgets, low inflation, low interest rates, low unemployment, and the least amount of taxation and regulation possible. Americans want fair rules in the workplace and the marketplace, from family leave to fair trade to basic consumer protection. They want an adequate infrastructure to sustain a successful and growing economy. And they expect minimal safety and health protections, from law enforcement to food and drug safety to providing health care for the elderly and the poor.

I have found that almost all of my colleagues want these things as well. We often differ on the best approach, or the best philosophy, for meeting these goals and providing what our constituents want, but we are all basically after the same things.

Some of my colleagues on the other side of aisle still use the rhetoric from the 1980's about being for lower taxes and smaller government. Who could be

against that? But most of these same colleagues are also for all of the things I just mentioned. They would agree with me that these are all things that our constituents demand and expect us to address. We all want the smallest government possible, but we want government to deliver on all of these things. So it is a challenge for all of us.

And the future challenges for the next Congress and beyond will be even more complex. I mentioned earlier that we are living longer. The standard retirement age has not gone up since I came to the Senate. In fact, the average private sector retirement age has gone down. But we live longer. The percentage of the population age 65 and older is up to about 13 percent today, and is projected to continue to grow. During my tenure in the Senate, I have seen federal spending on Social Security grow from \$64 to \$380 billion. I have seen Medicare spending increase from \$13 to \$220 billion. And roughly half of Medicaid spending, which has gone from \$7 to \$100 billion in the budget, is attributable to nursing home care. These three areas alone—Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid—have gone from about 25 percent of the total budget to roughly 42 percent of the total budget. Without question, the major budget issue in the next few years is how we deal with the costs associated with the elderly.

And it is a quality issue as well. Many of the same trends which are currently affecting managed care in the private sector will certainly affect the quality of medical care received by the elderly. I wish we had made more progress in these areas before my time in the Senate expired. I wish my colleagues well in addressing these issues and urge them to do so earlier rather than later. I know many colleagues share my sentiments.

The other area I would urge my colleagues to address is the financing and operation of campaigns. Here is an area that has changed dramatically during my 24 years. When I announced my retirement from the Senate, I mentioned the two "M's,"—Money and Meanness—as major reasons why I chose not to run again. Now that we are in the midst of the current campaign season, I believe even stronger about this issue. As reported in the newspaper yesterday, PACs have collected almost \$360 million in the last 18 months. We all like to say that the money does not influence how we vote and how we think, but, truthfully, it is a matter of degree. There needs to be a stronger ethic of avoiding even the appearance of a conflict of interest. We need more of that in politics—much more of it. Senators who solicit campaign contributions and then within a very short period of time are casting votes and making decisions on matters which greatly affect both the contributors and the Senator's constituents place themselves in very difficult situations. It goes to the heart of our system of Democracy, and whether it works or

will continue to work. There has got to be a better way. There are also a lot of ideas around here on how to make a better way. I can only hope some of these ideas are translated into law in the very near future.

So, Mr. President, I wish my colleagues well. I will miss the institution dearly. I will miss the daily interaction with my colleagues, many of whom have become such dear friends to me. Let me thank you for your friendship. And lastly, let me thank staff. My personal office staff, both here and in the state offices, have been like family to me. I have tried to treat them that way, and it has been mutual. The committee staff and floor staff I have been privileged to work with over the years have all been great to me as well—they make this place run and make us all look good from time to time. I thank them all for their support and service to our country. This country would not be nearly what it is without office, committee and floor staff. As I leave the Senate, please know that I will keep you all in my thoughts and prayers, and wish all of you good luck and happiness in the years to come.

Mr. President, for perhaps the last time, I yield the floor.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Kentucky yield for a moment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, if the Senator from North Dakota wants to be recognized, very shortly I have to take the Chair and I want to make my statement.

Mr. DORGAN. I wonder if I might ask unanimous consent to speak for 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATOR WENDELL FORD

Mr. DORGAN. I did want to say, having listened to the Senator from Kentucky, my expectation is that virtually every Member of this Senate, Republican and Democrat alike, shares my feelings about the Senator from Kentucky. He is tough, he is honest, he gets things done in the Senate, and we are going to miss him a great deal.

I know the Senator from Montana feels that way, as does the Senator from Texas. Some of our other colleagues are not here. But one of the privileges of serving in this body is serving with some of the best men and women I have ever had the opportunity to work with in my life, and I count among that group the Senator from Kentucky, Senator FORD.

I would like to say, as he leaves the Senate, I thank him for his public service to our country. He, because he served in this body, has contributed to the well-being of America. We are going to miss him a great deal. I expect he will not be going far. I know he is going fishing, and I know he is going to be involved in public service in his own

way, dealing with educating young people about civic responsibilities and about government. I just want to say he has contributed a substantial amount of service to his country and we are deeply indebted to him for it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I associate myself with those words. We hate to see Senator FORD go.

I ask unanimous consent, after I make a short statement, that my colleague from Texas may follow me because he picks up on the same idea. I have to assume the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BURNS. I thank the Chair and I thank my colleague on the other side.

EDUCATION

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, as we started to hear this debate this morning, and talking about different ways of accomplishing things here on a non-partisan basis, it started off a little on the partisan side. Education is very dear to the hearts of all of us because all of us, probably, have had a connection with kids and so have been involved in education. I still have one going to school. But to hear the other side talk, we have done nothing about that.

You know, we have increased the funds for special education since the Republicans took over in 1994.

We passed education savings accounts that would empower parents to make choices for their own children with regard to books and computers and this type stuff. That was a bad idea to the President. He vetoed it. I guess he wants to empower bureaucracy rather than empower parents.

We passed the opportunity scholarships, a highly popular program here in Washington, DC, that would allow parents more choice of where to send their kids to school. That was vetoed.

We passed a \$2.74 billion education bill for classrooms, and we guaranteed that 95 percent of it would get to kids. That met with stiff opposition from the President.

Encouraging States to implement teacher testing and merit pay, what is wrong with that? That got vetoed by the President.

Strengthening safe schools, the antigun program—that was vetoed.

Tax relief to employers who provide workers education assistance, folks we are retraining in this rapidly changing world of technology? Vetoed by the President.

I have to look and say all at once: 2 plus 2 is not making 5, when we start talking about education and who wants to do what for whom.

I just noticed here, earlier this year my good friend from Massachusetts said we have "a relationship with Federal, State, and local community levels in terms of education; it is a partner-

ship." Tell me how good this partnership is. The Federal Government only provides 7 percent of the money but 50 percent of the paperwork. That should not surprise you a lot if you have been around government at any time.

In 1969, our expenditure was \$68 billion; in 1996, it was \$564 billion; and yet even by their own admission, education continues to struggle and go down. That is the point I wanted to make here. I would say whenever we start looking at education, the answer lies in the realization that you cannot kill or do away with an idea. Ideas rule the world. The only way you get rid of a bad idea is with a better one. I think we have come up with some awfully good ideas.

I yield to my friend from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I wanted to give our colleague who has to preside an opportunity to speak first. I thank him for arranging for me to be recognized.

SENATOR WENDELL FORD

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I am sorry our colleague from Kentucky has left the floor. I would like to add my voice to those who thanked him for his service. In an era where there are so many cellophane politicians, when there are so many people in public life who talk like newscasters but you can never quite tell what they are talking about when they get through speaking, I think WENDELL FORD has been a welcome relief from that. He is a politician who has texture. When he speaks you may think he is wrong—which I often do—but you never question the fact that he is sincere, and when he speaks you know what he is talking about. I find the longer I serve in this great Senate, the more respect I have for people who stand for something and who speak up for it and who say what they think.

EDUCATION AND THE BUDGET DEBATE

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I wanted, today, to come over and talk about education. I have come back to town to help in some of these negotiations to try to complete the session, but upon hearing Senator KENNEDY this morning, I felt compelled to come over and speak. I have several ideas I want to talk about. I would like to first talk about why we are talking about education. Here we are, 2 days before the session ends. In fact, as of last Friday, in the budget negotiations, no one at the White House had brought up education at all. Why suddenly do we have the focus on education?

I would like to explain why this focus has come about and what I think it is trying to hide. I would like to talk about Senator KENNEDY's education proposals. I would like to talk about the budget debate we have before us. I